



Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

THEOPHOROUS PROPER NAMES IN THE OLD TESTAMENT*

BY HENRY PRESERVED SMITH

Meadville Theological School

The object of the present paper is to register the traces of Semitic polytheism found in the proper names of the Old Testament. The various treatises on Hebrew proper names published within the last thirty¹ years seem not to have considered all the phenomena. They all recognize, indeed, the fact that the Hebrews, like other peoples, used the names of their divinities in proper names of men and places. So far as the use of the names of Israel's God is concerned, the fact can hardly escape the notice of even the casual reader. But that the names of other divinities were so used is not generally admitted. Gray finds "no satisfactory proof that other gods shared with Yahweh the feelings of gratitude and devotion which so frequently guided a Hebrew parent in the choice of his children's names," and Baethgen denies that Hebrew personal names contain the name of other divinities than Israel's own God.² If this were so, it would be very strange, for monotheism did not prevail in Israel before the fall of Jerusalem in 586. Of this we are assured by Jeremiah, who tells us that the gods of Judah were in his day as many as the cities. This testimony is confirmed by Ezekiel, who in an impressive passage describes the idolatry which was carried on in the temple itself and by the leading men of the nation.

*Preprinted from the forthcoming *William Rainey Harper Memorial Volumes*.

¹ Nestle, *Die israelitischen Eigennamen*. Haarlem, 1876.

De Jong, *Over de met Ab, Ach enz. zamengestelde Hebreuwsche Eigennamen*. (Verslagen en Mededeelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen.) Amsterdam, 1881.

Baethgen, *Beiträge zur semitischen Religionsgeschichte*. Berlin, 1888.

Grunwald, *Die Eigennamen des Alten Testaments in ihre Bedeutung für die Kenntniss des hebräischen Volksglaubens*. Breslau, 1895.

Gray, *Studies in Hebrew Proper Names*. London, 1896.

Kerber, *Die religionsgeschichtliche Bedeutung der hebräischen Eigennamen des Alten Testaments*. Freiburg, 1897.

Ulmer, *Die semitischen Eigennamen im Alten Testament*. Leipzig, 1901.

For the Phœnician and Aramaic parallels I have relied on the *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, and on Cook, *Handbook of North-Semitic Inscriptions*.

² Gray, p. 148; Baethgen, p. 140.

Moreover, we are now tolerably sure that the Israel of historic times was largely made up of Canaanitish elements; and one of the most persistent charges brought by the Old Testament writers against their own people is that they have repeatedly been led away into the worship of Canaanitish divinities. Specifications are indeed lacking; beyond the general statement that they went after the Baals and the Astartes we find no names of these gods recorded by the historians. These men, looking back on a time of defection, as they regarded it, took no pleasure in dwelling upon facts abhorrent to them. So far as was possible, they ignored the uncomfortable details. It is only incidentally that we learn of Teraphim in the house of David; and it is only because a late author is obliged to prohibit the worship of the desert demons that he mentions them at all. By a curious survival in the ritual we learn that one of these divinities was named Azazel, but he is the only one known to us by direct assertion. The meagerness of direct evidence makes us scrutinize the indirect evidence with all the greater care.

The precarious nature of much of the evidence with which we have to deal is acknowledged at the start. The majority of the proper names contained in the Old Testament are recorded by late documents—the Priest Code and Chronicles. It seems that the tendency to preserve genealogies became strong after the exile, and there is too much ground for the suspicion that where genuine lists had not been preserved the lack was made up by invention. The information which these authors profess to give concerning the pre-exilic period is always to be viewed with caution, and this is as true of their genealogies as of any part of their work. On the other hand, it is probable that in some cases they drew upon a genuine tradition, and even where they invented lists they probably made them up from names which were in circulation in their own time. But these names may have represented ancient and forgotten beliefs. The tenacity of proper names is well attested. The Christian of the sixth century of our era who bore the name Dusarios thereby witnessed to the ancestral worship of Dusares, though he himself had left the heathen community; and the Numidian bishop Asmunius in the same way bore testimony to

Eshmun, though his ancestors for generations may have been followers of Christ.³ Because of this tenacity of tradition we have a right to examine all these proper names in the hope that they have preserved traces of older beliefs.

A further difficulty is made by the faulty transmission of the texts. Carelessness in the handling of proper names is one of the besetting sins of copyists. Where the text consists of long series of names we can hardly be surprised that the average scribe does not take his task very seriously. The confusion which is likely to result is made visible to us by the Greek version—or versions—of the Old Testament, where each group of manuscripts seems to go its own way. For example, in Josh. 15:30 our Hebrew text has the name כַּסִּיל. The Greek copies give us no less than eight equivalents: Βαιθηλ, Χασειρ, Ειλ, Χειλ, Χασειδ, Χεηλ, Σειελ, and Βεχθηλ; not counting minor variations. Again, the name Ahilud, which occurs five times in the Bible, is represented by no less than fifteen Greek equivalents. Our perplexity is increased by the doubt how far the printed Greek editions accurately reproduce the manuscript readings. It is evident that we are far from a final solution of all the problems thus presented to us, but with caution it is yet possible to make provisional use even of the Greek version.

It was not only the carelessness of the scribes which disfigured their copies; they shared the prejudice of the original authors against all that savored of heathenism. This prejudice induced them sometimes to mutilate their text by the excision of a name which had escaped the zeal of the original writer. The classic example is the name of Saul's son, Ishbaal. The second part of the name is that of a heathen divinity, and the copyist hesitated to write it, as the public reader did to pronounce it. The name was therefore changed to Ishbosheth ('Man-of-shame'), or in one passage to Ishyo ('Man-of-Yahweh'). Parallel is the substitution of Elyada for Baalyada in II Sam. 5:16 compared with I Chron. 14:7. These familiar cases illustrate the two ways in which an offensive name might be treated; either Yahweh or one of its equivalents was substituted for that of the heathen divinity, or

³ Ba¹ thgen, pp. 92, 141.

else the heathen element was replaced by something meaningless or opprobrious. So far as this process went on before the Greek version was made, we have no means of recovering the original. We have reason to suspect that it did go on for some time, for we have a number of proper names which are meaningless, and which are, moreover, un-Hebraic in structure. While we might expect occasionally to meet an unfamiliar root in a proper name, the cases of un-Hebraic forms always arouse suspicion. Conjecture as a method of restoring mutilated names is always unsatisfactory; we can only note the difficulty and pass on. Where the name of Yahweh, or its synonym El, has taken the place of another and less orthodox one, we cannot even detect that mutilation has taken place.

A few examples showing how mutilation was going on at the time the Greek version was made may here be given: *Βεελσιμος* for *בשלם*; *Αβδοδομ*, *עבדון*; *Αδωνειραμ*, *הדרם* or *אדרם*; *Αβααζερ*, *נבהז*; *Βαιθσουρ*, *אל בת*; *Ιασβηλ*, *יהצאל*; *Ισβααλ*, *ישבאב*; *Μελχολ*, *מיכל*; *Αβεισουρ*, *אביהוא*; *Αχιεζερ*, *איעזר*; *Αβεισαμας*, *אבישו*; *Ελιαβ*, *אליאל*; *Baal* for *עדיאל* (I Chron. 9:39). In this list *Θ* seems to have preserved the original reading. In the following the advantage is on the side of the Hebrew: *בעליה*, *Βαδαια*; *אביעזר*, *Ιεζει*; *אביחיל*, *Βαιαν*; *ביתדגן*, *Βαγαδιηλ*; *בעל*, *Ιωηλ* (I Chron. 5:5); *אליעם*, *Ουελιαφ*. Without support from the Greek, but certain from internal evidence, is the curious instance where Dan has been excised from the text (I Chron. 7:12).

Observation of these facts convinces us that only a small proportion of the theophorous names which once existed in the Hebrew writings have come down to us. It is rather remarkable that any escaped mutilation. That some did escape is due to two facts; for one thing the scribes did not always recognize a heathen name when they saw it, and for another the offensive meaning could be interpreted away. The name of the divinity Melek appears in some early names. But melek is the Hebrew word for king, and the proper name Ahimelek, for example, which originally meant (perhaps) 'Brother-of-Melek,' could be interpreted 'Brother-of-the-king,' and so pass muster. Even names in which the god was recognized might have a new meaning put

into the other element, and so be considered innocuous. Jerubbaal, one of the early heroes, had a name compounded with that of Baal. It was allowed to pass because, whatever the original meaning, it could be interpreted as "Fighter-against-Baal." These considerations make it intelligible that our text has reconciled itself to some names which a consistent Judaism could hardly approve if it understood them in their original sense.

Hebrew names, so far as we can understand them at all, fall into three classes; they are single nouns (substantive, adjective, or participial), or a combination of two nouns, or a combination of noun and verb. The few cases where we find a verb alone are probably abbreviated from longer forms containing a verb and a noun. The class easiest to understand is the one in which a verb and a noun are combined. They are intended to utter a declaration, prayer, or prophecy concerning the individual who receives the name. The declaration may affirm the divine protection already afforded the child in the perils of the birth-process, or it may express the parent's gratitude at having the gift of a child. In this case the perfect tense of the verb is the one naturally used; *Nethaniah* is the one whom 'Yahweh-has-given' to the parents, and the name is equivalent to the nominal phrase *Mattaniah* ('Gift-of-Yahweh'). Where a prayer is expressed the verb is in the other tense; for example, *Ezekiel* meaning 'May-El-strengthen-him.' In the most of these names the verb precedes the noun, though the order is sometimes reversed.

The subject in these sentences is usually the name of a divinity. As has already been intimated, the great majority of them show us the name of Israel's God—either his proper name, *Yahweh*, or *El*, which was regarded as an appellative practically equivalent to *Yahweh*. Curiously, the word *Elohim*—the common word for 'God' in Hebrew—does not appear in proper names. What now concerns us is that, if we find another noun than *El* or *Yahweh* (in its shortened forms *Yahu* or *Yah*) the subject in one of these proper names, all the probabilities are in favor of its being the name of a divinity. Notice the exactness of the parallel in the following cases: *Elyada'* and *Baalyada'*, *Hashabyah* and *Hashabdan*; פדהאל, פדיה, and פדהצור; נתנאל, נתניה, and נתנמלך;

אביסָה and אֵלִיסָה ; יִשְׁבָּאֵב and יִשְׁבִּיָּה ; יִשְׁבַּעַם and יִשְׁבִּיָּה ; אֲדֹנִיקָם and אֵלִיקָם ; עֲזִירָקָם and יְהוֹרִיקָם .

It would be hasty to conclude on the grounds of these analogies that we have discovered the names of seven members of the Hebrew pantheon, to wit: Dan, Çur, Am, Baal, Ezer, Adon, and Ab. Yet there would be *prima facie* evidence in their favor; and if we can discover other phenomena which point in the same direction, we shall make out as strong a case as the nature of the inquiry admits. The first thing we shall have to consider is the assertion, which will undoubtedly be made, to the effect that none of these are proper names, but that all are appellatives; Ab and Am designate kinsmen; Melek, Adon, and Baal mean 'ruler;' and the others also are known to us. The question, however, is not whether the names had a meaning, but whether in the minds of those who used them they were not nevertheless personified as divinities. All divine names had a meaning when first applied to personal use, and Semitic divinities certainly form no exception to the rule. Adon admittedly meant 'lord,' and was used in Hebrew with this meaning throughout the history of the language, but it passed to the Greeks as the name of a particular divinity, and we naturally suppose that it was so used by the Phoenicians.

So it was also in the case of Baal, another name meaning 'master' or 'possessor,' which could be applied to any of the local divinities in Palestine. In some cases it was doubtless used for Yahweh himself. But in the early days the identification was not complete. The assumption that when used in the families of Saul and David it must be construed as one of the names of Yahweh is based on the belief that these kings were exclusive worshipers of Yahweh, Israel's one God. But this belief is based on the views of later times. There seems to be no sufficient reason why we should not judge the Hebrew Baalyada' just as we should judge the similar forms Baalshillek and Baalshaphat which we find among the Phoenicians. All the others in our list, except Dan, may be paralleled from the Phoenician or Aramaic: Ab in אֲבִישָׁלָה ; Ezer in בְּדַעֲזָר ; Melek in מַלְכִּיתָן ; Çur in בְּרַצָּר ; Am in אֲלַעַם . No one would have the hardihood to deny that to the Phoenicians these were the names of so many separate divinities. And

if they were separate outside of Israel, they were originally separate within Israel. Of Melek we are quite sure that he had altars and sacrifices in Judah down to a comparatively late period.

Ab and Am undoubtedly present some difficulties whichever way we look at them. It is clear that in all the languages we are now studying a child may receive a name describing him as servant, dependent, or kinsman of the god. Compounds with עֶבֶד ('servant') are not very frequent in the Old Testament, and נֶר ('client') occurs in only one or two cases, and they not certain. All the more conspicuous are those which denote a kinsman. Ahijah, for example, makes the bearer of the name a brother of his god, and this whether we translate 'Yahweh-is-my-brother' or 'Brother-of-Yahweh.' If we must choose between the two, the latter seems more probable, for what we look for in a name is something which will describe the man or child—a label. A profession of faith or a declaration concerning the nature of the divinity is not the most natural thing to put into a proper name, at least in the earlier stages of religion. Ahijah, then, meaning 'Brother-of-Yahweh,' is quite comprehensible. But names with Ab ('father') are not so easily disposed of. The wide sense in which the word 'father' is used among the Semites is well known, but with all possible allowance for this it hardly seems that a child could be named 'Father-of-Yahweh' or 'Father-of-Baal.' Yet the names Abijah and Abibaal occur, one among the Hebrews, the other among the Phoenicians. The difficulty is increased when we discover that the Phoenician name is that of a woman, and in connection with this we are at once reminded that names of this type were given to women among the Hebrews also—Abigail, Abishag, and others. In view of these names, and also in view of the names in which Ab appears as the subject of a verb—אֲבִשְׁלָה in Phoenician, אֲבִיאֶסֶה, אֲבִיתָר, יִשְׁבָּאֵב in Hebrew—we are driven to the hypothesis already intimated—the hypothesis that Ab was an ancient Semitic divinity.⁴

To understand how this may be, we need only to remind ourselves of the ease with which gods come into existence in the belief of a polytheistic society. In Babylonia, we are told, the

⁴This has already been pointed out by Barton (*JBL*, XV, 182) and by others.

abstractions kettu, 'right,' and mešaru, 'righteousness,' became divinities. In Phoenicia the 'Face-of-Baal' was separated from Baal himself and was identified with another deity. Adar the Glorious, Aziz the Mighty, became personalities. Baal, Adon, and Melek, to which allusion has already been made, are further examples. It cannot surprise us, therefore, that names originally designating kinsmen early became personalized as so many gods. In clan-society the god is member of the clan—father or brother of all its human members. To designate him by the name 'Father' was all that was necessary to identify him as the particular person with whom the clan had most intimate relations. Among the Midianites we find Abyada', just as among the Hebrews we have Baalyada' or Elyada', and among the Phoenicians Eshmunyada'. Abyada' and Yada'-Ab are also found in South Arabia. The names must all be judged alike.

If Ab is a divine name, it relieves us of the difficulty under which we have been laboring. Abbaal is neither 'Father-of-Baal' nor 'Baal-is-my-father;' it is simply Ab-Baal, one of the many compound names of divinities found among the Semites. How it came to be applied to a human being is part of a larger question which we shall have to consider. For the present we note that Ab was in the minds of those who gave these names a personality like the other gods. And what is true of Ab is also true of Am (originally uncle or kinsman in the broad sense). The case of Ah is not so clear.⁵

We return now to the puzzling fact that a girl received the name of a male divinity. It becomes less puzzling when we bring it into the general class of divine names given to human beings. That there is such a class is obvious—however startling to modern ideas. To ancient religious thinking it probably was not startling at all. The name was designed to put the child under the protection of a divinity. What could be a more effective way than to give him the name of the divinity? Just as in Christian

⁵ So conservative an authority as Gray holds it to be proven that Am had virtually become a proper name (of a god) among peoples somewhat remote from Palestine, though he thinks there is no direct evidence from Palestine itself (*Hebrew Proper Names*, p. 53). Delaporte finds one case in Assyrian where he is compelled to make Ah a proper name. See his essay, "Noms théophores en Assyrie," *RHR*, LIV, 60. Jastrow also finds cases where Ah is a divine name (*Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens*, I [1905], 162, n. 1).

countries the child is assigned to the care of a patron saint and receives that saint's name (even that of Jesus in some countries), so in ancient times it could not have seemed an unnatural thing to indicate or induce the protection of the god by giving the god's name. The gods in polytheistic religions are much closer to men than in the monotheistic faiths where the one God is so grand, and therefore so far away. It is far from unthinkable, then, that a child should be called directly by the name of his patron deity. Of the custom we have evidence in many regions. In the Book of the Dead the soul is instructed to call itself by the name of Ra, or Ptah, or Osiris. This, to be sure, is when the soul has passed into the region of the dead, and may be supposed to partake of the divine nature. But the fact that one is to become a god after death would rather favor the idea of assuming something of divinity even in this life. The deification of human monarchs in their earthly life is a common phenomenon, and the ease with which the kings claim divine parentage shows how loosely drawn was the line between men and gods.

Moreover, we have direct evidence as to the custom among the nearest neighbors of the Hebrews. The following examples from the Phoenician and Aramaic inscriptions would seem to be decisive: **אִישׁ** is the name of a man and also that of a god, as is seen from **עבדאישׁ**; compare also **הר** and **עבדהר**; **יאל** is the name of a man and also appears in the combination **יאלפעל** indicating a divinity;⁶ in this same connection belong the Arabian King Ya'lu mentioned in the Assyrian inscriptions, the Hebrew **יואל**, and the Arabic divinity Wa'il; **מלכרם**, **מלכאסר**, **מלכבעל**, all of which we should take to be divinities, are found as personal names in the inscriptions, and from Palmyra we may add **מלכו**, **בעלמלך**, and **צדקמלך**; from the name **עבדמסכר** we gather that **מסכר** is the name of a divinity, but it appears also as that of a man;⁷ **נבא** (of a man) in the inscriptions is apparently the god Nebo; **עליון** is given by Fürst as a man's name; **פתחה**, the Egyptian Ptah, is the name of a man; **צדק** **Συδικς**, **Συδικος**, is Phoenician and also South Arabian for man and divinity; with **צפן** in **עבדצפן** compare **צפנבעל** (this a woman's name); further,

⁶ Cook, p. 106.

⁷ Cook, p. 42.

בעלרם, אדנבעל, בעלמלך, עזר, עזרבעל, שלם, נבושלם, אשמנשלם, רמבעל, אשמנאדך, אסרמלך, names of men, all have claims to be considered here, though their full force cannot be estimated until we have studied the compound names of divinities. עשחור, however, as the name of a man in Palmyra, would seem to belong in our list, and the Arabic divinity Wadd gives his name to a man in the Sinaitic region. In Palmyra Azîz is a man and also a god,⁸ while among the Nabateans Obodath designates both man and divinity.⁹

It does not seem rash, therefore, in view of all the facts, to assert that names of the gods were given to men among the Semites. For the Hebrews we may cite David's court seer who bore the name Gad, undoubtedly that of a Syrian divinity (Isa. 65:11). In the Hebrew lists we even find men called by the name of Baal (I Chron. 5:5; 8:30). The precarious nature of the attestation has already been indicated; yet we can hardly suppose the Chronicler or his copyist to have inserted so obnoxious a name without some tradition to go upon. The giving of similar names must have been a custom well known when these texts took shape. If we include among proper names those borne by tribes, clans, or families, we shall find a number which are those of divinities. Asher, Dan, and Simeon are tolerably clear examples, as anyone will see.

We have been considering the theory that the names of the gods are given directly to children as talismans to protect them from evil or misfortune, and the Christian custom of naming for the saints suggests that this is a natural thing for the devout man to do at a certain stage of religious thought. The phenomena of totemism come in to strengthen this hypothesis. A large number of proper names in the Old Testament are the names of animals. It is often said that a child is called by such a name because the father hopes that it will show the traits of the animal—the cunning of the fox or the courage of the lion. But in the stage of

⁸ Cook, pp. 282, 295.

⁹ Meyersham, *Deorum nomina hominibus imposita* (Kiel, 1891), treats this subject at length, and Nestle gives a number of names of Greek gods borne by men, *op. cit.*, p. 115, n. 1.

Ranke, while minimizing the number of divine names borne by men among the Babylonians, concedes that there are some instances. See his *Personennamen in den Urkunden der Hammurabidynastie*, p. 23, n. 2.

polydemonism these very qualities are taken to be signs of supernatural beings, and the dedication of the child to the animal is a religious act by which the parent seeks divine aid in the manifold perils of life. The persistence of the names of 'unclean' animals among personal names can be explained only on the basis of some such belief—a survival, no doubt, from an earlier stage, yet a testimony to a lingering veneration for the uncanny powers which dwell in animal forms. The priestly clan of the Boar, the section of Judah which bore the name of the Dog, the official who was called Mouse, the other called Rock-badger, all attest the feeling with which animals ritually unclean were regarded in Israel. In the popular consciousness the giving of such names would be in effect the giving of names of divinities.¹⁰

There is, however, another hypothesis to be considered. It is supposable that all these forms have been abbreviated from fuller forms which designated the wearer of the name as servant or client of the god. In the case where the name of a male divinity is given to a woman this is, in fact, the most plausible hypothesis. It still remains true that the oriental mind might look at things in a way that would be foreign to our mode of thought. The giving of the name of a male divinity might be of a piece with the custom found in some regions—the custom of dressing a girl like a boy to protect her from the evil eye. Conceding that Abital (a woman's name) meant originally 'Father-of-the-night-mist,' and that it designated the divinity (fay, cobold, or sprite) which presided over the beneficent dampness which does so much for the vegetation in Palestine, it is clear that a little girl might receive the name. On the other hand, it would be equally appropriate to call her 'Handmaid-of-Abital'—a cumbersome name, easily shortened by leaving off the first member. The practical effect of the abbreviation is to give the girl or woman the name of a male divinity. It is conceivable also that, while at first the names designated servants or clients of the gods, at a later stage the

¹⁰ It is not meant here to affirm that totemism as a system existed among the Israelites in historic times. The traces we have are survivals from prehistoric times. Nor have I thought it necessary to include in my table of names of divinities more than a few of the more noteworthy animal names. A complete list of Hebrew animal names will be found in Jacobs, *Studies in Hebrew Archaeology*, pp. 94 ff., and a similar one in Gray, *Hebrew Proper Names*, pp. 88 ff. See also Cook's interesting essay, "Israel and Totemism," *JQR*, XIV, 413-455.

abbreviated names set the fashion, and the names of the gods were given to men without the formal recognition of dependence. As personal names were sometimes formed from those of a divinity by adding an adjective termination, there is the additional possibility that in some cases the termination was worn off, and so the name of the god was left in its simplicity.¹¹

The next thing to claim our attention is the large number of compound divine names among the Semites. From very early times mixture of peoples in western Asia was constantly taking place. The result on their religions was syncretism. The god called Hadad, for example, worshiped in one region, was found to be essentially the same in character with the Ramman venerated in another district. The identity was indicated by joining the the two names in the form Hadad-Ramman—a name which survived as a place-name down to a late period in Israel. In Egypt we know it to have been the rule rather than the exception to call a god by a double name. For Moab we have Mesha's evidence in favor of Ashtar-Chemosh, while for Syria we may add to the examples given above the well-known Atargatis (Atar-Ate), and for Phoenicia Gad-El, Melek-Ashtart, and Eshmun-Melkart. In the works of the Assyriologists we read of Ilu-Malik, Ishtar-Malkat, Shamsi-Adad, Shamsi-Ramman, Ashur-Ramman, and others. In Palmyra we meet Melek-Bel.

The composite divine names we meet in our Hebrew text seem to belong in the same class with those just considered. The Hebrew writers, to be sure, were not aware of the real origin of these names; to them they were names connected with ancient sanctuaries, and presumably given by the patriarchs; therefore names of Israel's one God. But there is no essential difference between El-Elyon, El-Shaddai, El-Olam, Yahweh-Shalom, on the one hand, and Ashtar-Chemosh or Eshmun-Melkart, on the other. Yahweh-Elohim, indeed, is a purely literary product, while in El-Elohe-Israel we suspect that some other, less innocent, form has been displaced by the one in the text. What I now desire to emphasize is that these compound divine names

¹¹ Kerber calls attention to the fact that the name of a man (Anath, Judg. 3:31; 5:6) was that of a goddess. His own theory is that in all these cases the first part of the name has disappeared (*loc. cit.*, p. 10).

may be given to men as well as the simple names. They should be sought among the personal, and even among the geographical, designations.

The preceding discussion justifies the following statement of probabilities:

1. Where a personal or geographical name is a single noun, it may be the name of a divinity. If it be adjective or participial in form, it may be derived from the name of a divinity.

2. Where a personal name or geographical name consists of two nouns, one of them is likely to be the name of a god, and both of them may be such names.

3. Where a personal name consists of a noun and a verb, the noun is likely to be the name of a god.

The subjoined list presents the amount of evidence on which we may decide whether the names it contains are those of divinities. For the sake of completeness it gives the Old Testament names recorded among peoples who were neighbors of Israel and who may be supposed to share the popular religious ideas of the Hebrews. The Massoretic punctuation has been disregarded.

אב, already commented upon, is found in various combinations—**אביאל**, **אביר**, **אבימלך**, **אביסך**; also in the names of women. Among the Phoenicians we find **אבשל**, **אבבעל**, **אבבל**, the last two of women. For **ישבאב**, I Chron. 24, 13, *Θ* gives us *Ιεσβααλ*. The name **אהאב** becomes intelligible if it be parallel to **אהיר**.

אדא, apparently a god, *CIS*, I, p. 444; with it we may compare **אדו**, Ezra 8:17.

אדון. With **אדנירם**, **אדניר** we may compare Phoenician **אדנבעל**, **אדנשמ**, **אדנשמ**, **אדנשמ**, **אדנשמ**, all names of men. **אדניקם** (Ezra 2:13 and elsewhere) shows the noun as subject of a verb.

אדום, eponym of the Edomites, was recognized as a divinity in Israel, as is shown by the name of an officer of David, **עבדאדם**. *Θ* has *Αβδοδομ* also for **עבדון**, II Chron. 34:20, and *Εναδομ* for **בעמק**, Josh. 13:27. The town Admah may receive its name from this god. In Phoenician we find **עבדאדם** (*CIS*, I, p. 367).

אדר, a Babylonian god combined with Melek, was the object of worship among the colonists in Samaria (II Kings 17:31).

In view of the fact, however, that we find place-names אֲדָר, אֲדָר, עַטְרוֹת אֲדָר, אֲדָרִים, it is probable that the cult was older. אֲדָרִם, one of the officers of David, may be cited here, though the text in which his name occurs is not free from suspicion. Phœnician names are אֲכַנְאֲדָר, אֲדָרְבַּעַל, בַּעַל־אֲדָר, and יֵתֶנְאֲדָר.

אור, meaning ‘light’ or ‘flame,’ would naturally be deified, as is the case in most religions. Notice **אוריאל**, **אוריהו**, **אוריאל**, **אוריאל**, and compare Phoenician **ארמלך**, **בלאור** (Cook, pp. 18, 20).

אח, meaning 'brother,' shows the tendency to become a divine name which we have noted in other nouns denoting kinship: אחיהו, אחירם (Phoen. חירם), אחימלך, and others.

אל, now used as an appellative, was originally the name of a particular divinity, as we know from the Assyrian and Babylonian records. There is no reason why he may not have been worshiped in Canaan from the time of the early Babylonian occupation of the country. The sacred trees, אלוך and אלה, seem to derive their names from him. Common to Hebrew and Phoenician are the names חנאל (חנאל), אלמלך (אלמלך), אלעם (אלעם) and חננאל (חננאל), possibly גדאל (גדאל). With the Hebrew יחאל we may compare Phoenician יחואל, and with עבדאל, Phoenician עבדאלם. South Arabian names with אל are numerous.

אֲמֹן, king of Judah, seems to have been named for a well-known Egyptian god, and from him we can hardly separate David's son אֲמֹנֶן (related to אֲמֹן as שִׁמְשֹׁן is to שֶׁמֶשׁ), and a clan or man in the genealogy of Judah, אֲמֹנִי, I Chron. 4: 20.

אסיר, man or clan, may bear the name of the Egyptian Osiris, who meets us also in the Phoenician names **מלכאסר**, **עבדאסר**, and **אסרמלך**.

אָסר, a guild of singers, also found in אַבִּיאָסר and in the Phoenician אַספּה (a woman), may belong in our list.

אֶשֶׁר, the name of a tribe, is undoubtedly that of a divinity. Besides the place-name אֶשֶׁר we have אֶשְׂרָאֵל, אֶשְׂרָאֵלָה, and אֶשְׂרָאֵל. Compare the Phoenician אֶשְׂרָאֵל. The endeavor of the punctuators to disguise some of these names by pointing שׁ instead of שׁ may be disregarded. The ašerah, or sacred pole,

must originally have been the representative of a goddess, the female counterpart of Asher. The evidence of the Tell-el-Amarna tablets to this effect has often been dwelt upon.

בל, distinct from Baal and imported from Babylon, appears in אשבל, *Iασβηλ* (for יחצאל, Gen. 46:24), *Iωβηλ* (for עבר, Judg. 9:26). The mountain עיבל may have been the 'Heap-of-Baal,' and if ℣ is right in reading Reubel for Reuben, the name of this patriarch should be mentioned here. Phoenician gives us יריעבל, compounded with a passive participle as is ראובל, as well as אבבל, יתנבל, and other names.

בעל has already been commented upon. The name אשבעל is apparently the same as the Phoenician ישבעל. ℣ gives us *Aβιβααλ* for אבי עלבון. Two men in the Hebrew genealogies bear the name Baal, just as two in the Phoenician inscriptions are called בעלי. Notice the significant combination בעליה, and reflect on the apparent innocence with which a king of Israel who himself bears a name compounded with that of Yahweh (Ahaziah) sends to consult the oracle of בעל זבוב (II Kings 1:2-16). Various places bear the name Baal or the feminine Baalath (Baalah), and ℣ adds to them מיבעל (for מבחר, I Chron. 11:38). The large number of Phoenician names compounded with Baal need not be reproduced here. With the Hebrew Baalath-beer we may compare the Phoenician Baalath-Gebal, the goddess who was worshiped at Gebal. It is suspected that the name of Baasha, king of Israel, is a contracted or mutilated form of Baal-Shemesh.

ברק is the name of a hero and also that of a clan—בני ברק. It is found in Phoenician (Carthaginian), as well as in Palmyra and in South Arabia. Deification of the lightning is common to almost all polytheistic religions.

גד, the name of a divinity, of a man, and of a tribe, has already been spoken of. Note the combinations: עוגד, בעל גד, *Aβγαδ*, *Beλγαδ*, מגדל גד, and גדל (for גדאל). In Phoenician we find גדאל, גדנבר, and others.

גיל occurs in the name of a woman, אביגיל. It has already been shown that the only way to account for this apparent absurdity is to suppose the name to be that of a divinity. If there

were a god **גיל**, the place **גלה** (originally **גילון**) may have been named for him.

דגן, a Philistine god, had two sanctuaries in Israel. He is known also in Babylonia and in the Tell-el-Amarna tablets.

דד or **דור**. A divinity of this name is indicated by the names **אלדד**, **אלידד**, **חנודד**, **מידד**. The form **דודוהו**, II Chron. 20:37, seems to be an intentional corruption of **דודיהו** (**Δουδιου**, **Δωδιου**), while **דורי** is a shortened form of the same. **בלדר** may belong here, and the name David is a derivative. On the Moabite stone we find **דודה**, in Aramaic **דר**, and in Palmyra **דא**; also **Dûdu** in the Amarna tablets.

דן is eponym of a tribe, and the name occurs in several place-names. Personal names are **אבידן**, **חמך**, and **דניאל**, besides **Ιωδαν** (for **עדן**, II Chron. 29:12). The Phoenician **אשדנת** may be **אישדן** with a feminine ending. **חשבדנה**, Neh. 8:4, is etymologically dubious.

הדד, the Syrian storm-god, was known in Edom, Arabia, and Mesopotamia. Evidences of his worship in Israel are scanty, consisting of the place-name Hadad-Rimmon, already referred to, and the personal name **חנודד**, which may be a contraction or mutilation of **הנהידד**. In Phoenician we find **הדרעזר**, which is also Aramaic if our Hebrew text is correct. Šamši-Adad is given from Babylonian sources.

הדר seems to be another form of **אדר**; notice **אדרם** and **הדרם**, evidently two forms of the same name. On the other hand, **הדרעזר** is a simple textual error for **הדרעזר**.

הור is found as a personal name, and in the combinations **עמיהור**, **הוריהו**, **הוריהה**, **הוריה**, **אישור**, **אחיהור**, **אביהור**. In the Greek **Αβιουδ** represents **אביהוא** in Ex. 6:23, and **אביה** in I Chron. 7:8. For **אליהוא** in I Chron. 12:20 we read **Ελιουδ**, and there may be other instances where an original **הור** has been disguised. **Ουδ** for **הור**, I Chron. 1:17, however, may be simply a corruption in the Greek text.

היל gives us **אביהיל** only, possibly textual error for **אביהיל**.

הלל, name of a man, may be connected with **hilal**, the new moon.

זב gives us **זבדיר**, **זבדיראל**, **זבדיר**, **זבדיר**, and **עמזבד**.

For the simple זֶבֶר in Ezra 10:27 we read *Zaβadaβ*. Offense seems to have been taken by the scribes at almost every name in which the word זֶבֶר occurs, for ⚡ shows an astonishing variety of equivalents.

זֶבֶל is the name of a man, and has some connection with the name of the tribe Zebulun. As we have Phoenician personal names שִׁמְזֶבֶל and אִיזֶבֶל, we suspect a divinity. A certain plausibility is thereby given to the conjecture that Baal-zebul is a mutilation of an original Baal-Zebul.

הַדֶּשׁ, the New Moon, is the name of a clan (I Chron. 8:9), and the feminine הַדְּשָׁה is that of a town. *Νουμῆτιος* (I Macc. 12:16) shows that the personal name existed among the Jews at a late date, and the Phoenician בְּנֵה־דֶשׁ belongs with it. The moon was an object of worship in western Asia, and almost everywhere else, from very early times.

הֹרֶר in אֲבִי־הֹרֶר is perhaps a mistake for הֹרֶר.

הֹרֶר is the name of several men or clans, and is found as one element of the personal names אֲשֶׁחֹרֶר, בֶּן הֹרֶר, and עֲמִיחֹרֶר. Derivatives are חֹרֶרִי (?), חֹרֶם, חֹרִי, and אֲבִי חֹרֶם. In Phoenician we find חֶר and עֲבֹדֶחֶר; in Aramaic, חֹר; and in Nabataean, חֹרֶר and חֹרְאֶל. It has been suggested that this is the Egyptian Horus.

חֹוֶה, Eve. That the name has some mythological significance is probable, and it may not be rash to connect it with חֹוֶת, a Carthaginian goddess of the underworld (Cook, p. 135).

חֹזִיר, the Boar, name of a guild of priests (I Chron. 24:15), has already been alluded to. A man of this name is mentioned in Nehemiah (10:21).

חֵיל occurs in אֲבִי־חֵיל, which may be a mistake for חֵיל, already noted, or the mistake may be the other way. If the smooth ח was sometimes represented by ה, we might connect the name of Abraham's maid הֶגֶר, and that of the tribe which claimed her as their ancestress, with the South Arabian divinity חֶגֶר (Baethgen, p. 127).

חֶם is one of the names denoting kinsmen which are so easily personalized. In Hebrew we find חֶם, חֶמוֹל (חֶמוֹל), חֶמֶן, and חֶמוֹטֶל.

חמה, the Sun, accounts for the place-names חמון and חמת (Josh. 19:35). The sun-pillars המניס, mentioned several times in the Old Testament, are evidently dedicated to Baal-Hamman—a god popular with the Phoenicians, especially with the Carthaginians.

חמור, the Ass, gave his name to the father of Shechem—that is, to the clan which inhabited the town—and to the place חמרן.

חנן, if a divine name, accounts for אלתחן, בית חנן, בן חנן, חנניה, חנן, חנה, חננאל, though in some of these חנן may be a verb. We find, however, a name Hanan and another Hanun. The Phoenicians used a shorter form as in חנבעל, חנומלך, מלקרתחנא.

חרס, the Sun, gives its name to the places הר חרס and חמנת חרס.

טוב, the name of a district beyond the Jordan, occurs also in the personal names אביטוב, אחיטוב, טוביהו, טוביה, and טבאל. Further, Ταβηλ for טבליה, I Chron. 26:11. The unusual טובאדניהו, however (II Chron. 17:8), is regarded with suspicion. Aramaean, besides טבאל, are אביטב and גדטב.

יאל, in the fuller form יואל is equivalent to the Arabic Wa'il, as already pointed out, and occurs also in Phoenician. מחויאל may be 'Ya'el-giver-of-life.'

יכין, the pillar in Solomon's temple, was probably worshiped by the superstitious, and we find a man who bears the same name.

יעוש, a son of Esau, is now usually thought to be named for the Arabic god Yaghûth. We may provisionally associate with it יעשי, יעשי, and יעשיאל.

יעל, an animal name, was borne by men and women; also found in the derived forms יעלא, יעלה, and יעלם.

ירח, the Moon, must have been the patron deity of Jericho. The man or clan ירוח (I Chron. 5:14) may represent the same divinity, and there was an Arab clan ירח.

יתר occurs as the name of a man or boy, and we find also יתרא, יתרו, יתיר, יתן, אביתר, and יתירם.

כלב, the Dog, gave his name to a Judaite clan. כלאב may represent the same name disguised, while כלוב (= Χαλεβ, I Chron. 4:11) and כלובי seem to be derivatives. Among the

Nabataeans we find **כלבא** (Cook, p. 237) and **כלבר** (*CIS*, II, 1, p. 283).

כמוש, god of Moab, seems to have had a sanctuary in the country west of the Jordan, at Michmash ('Place-of-Chemosh').

כסיל, one of the constellations, gave its name to a place in Judah, and perhaps also to **כסלות** and **כסלון**.

לבנה, one of the names of the moon, is also the name of a town (Judg. 21:19), and we are inclined to connect with it the patriarch Laban, as well as the places **לבונה**, **לבני**, and **לבנת**.

לוד is found in the name (of two men) **אדילוד**. The anxiety of **ל** to replace the second member with some other word may show that it had some uncomfortable association.

להם is known as an ancient Babylonian divinity. He may have left a trace of his early worship in the name of Bethlehem, borne by two towns in Israel.

מות: The name **אחימות**, if meaning 'Brother-of-death,' would be cruel. Yet we find this name in use, as well as **עזמות** (place and personal), **ירימות**, and **שמירמות**. The name **ירמות** is also read *Iepimoth* by **ל**. The South Arabian district **חצירמות** may not belong in this connection. Since we know of a deity Muth which had a place in the Phoenician mythology (Eusebius, *Praep. Evang.*, i, 33), we may suppose her to have invaded Palestine, rather than that Death has been personified. This, however, as we see from the Old Testament treatment of Sheol, would not be impossible.

מלך has already been spoken of. It occurs as the name of a man in the family of Saul (I Chron. 8:35; 9:41), and also in various combinations—**אבימלך**, **אחימלך** (once changed to **אחיה**), **עבדמלך**, and others. For **מיכל** we find *Μελχολ*, showing that the attempt was sometimes made to disguise the name. Observe also *Μελχαβανναι* for **מכבני** (I Chron. 12:14). **ימלך** may represent an original **יומלך**. Phoenician names, **מלכרים**, **עזמלך**, **מלכיה**, **אלמלך**, are strictly parallel to what we find in Hebrew. We can prove that the Phoenician names are syncretistic and not asseverative by such an example as **מלכעשחרת**, where it would be absurd to render 'Astarte-is-king.' Two divinities, one male the other female, have here been fused into one—a not

uncommon phenomenon. In Assyria we find Šumu-Malik, and Ilu-Malik. The divinities assigned to the Samaritan colonists—Anammelech and Adarmelech—belong here. מלכם the Ammonite form of this god seems to occur as the name of a man (I Chron. 8:9). He is found also outside of Palestine (Cook, p. 361).

מלכה or מלכת would naturally be the female counterpart of Melek. The name is borne by Israelite women as well as by the Aramaean clan called “daughter of Haran” (Gen. 11:29). Ištar-Malkat occurs in Babylonia. In Phoenicia we find החמלכת (for אחתמלכת) and המלכת (for אהמלכת). According to Cook (*loc. cit.*, p. 135) מלכת was a goddess of the underworld to the Carthaginians. This may have been suggested by her identification with Ishtar, whose *descensus ad inferos* was recounted in the Babylonian myth. The Queen of Heaven, whose worship was rife in Jerusalem in the time of Jeremiah, will occur to the student.

מני is mentioned as a divinity in Isa. 65:11. Possibly the name אחימן was originally connected with him. In Phoenician we have עברמני. The Arabic Manât may be the female counterpart of this divinity.

מעץ occurs as a personal name (I Chron. 2:27), and also in the combination אחימעץ.

מידך is found, not only in Babylonian names, but also in that of the good Jew, Mordecai.

נבו, the Babylonian god Nabû, was early introduced into Palestine, as is indicated by the places named for him—Mount Nebo beyond the Jordan, a town in Judah, and one in Reuben. A family called בני נבו existed in the post-exilic period (Ezra 2:29). Whether Naboth, whose tragic story is well known, bears a name derived from that of this divinity or his female counterpart cannot be certainly affirmed. The Ishmaelite Nebai-oth is also dubious. In Phoenician we have נבושלם, עברנבו, and ערנבו.

נדב; besides four men who bear the name Nadab, we have נדביה, יונדב, עמינדב, אחינדב, אבינדב, not to mention the Arabic clan נודב, *Nadaḥaios* (I Chron. 5:19).

נחש, the Serpent, gives us נחשון, נחש, עיר נחש, נחשתן, נחשתה. The demonic nature of the serpent is conceded in all religions. Naas is once preserved where the current Hebrew has נחניאל (I Chron. 26:4).

נעם, in the fuller form נעמן, is the name of a Syrian god, apparently the same with Adonis (see Duhm on Isa. 17:10). The name meets us not only in Naaman the Syrian, but also as a Benjamite clan-name (נעמן, Gen. 46:21; Num. 26:40; I Chron. 8:4, 7). Personal names are נעם and נעמה, also אחינעם, אבינעם, אלנעם, and נעמי. The Phoenician sources give us נעמלכת, גרנעמת, עבדנעם, בחנעמת, בתנעם, נעמה.

נר and his son אבנר (אביר) may be compared with נריהו.

סין, the moon-god worshiped in Babylonia, Syria, and South Arabia, gave his name, we may suppose, to Sinai.

סכן was worshiped among the Phoenicians, if we may judge by the names גרסכן and עבדסכן. Conjecturally we may combine it with שכניהו, not infrequent among the Hebrews.

סמך is noticeable from the form אדסמן, with which we may combine סמכיהו, of which יסמכיהו may be a corruption.

סוס: The sacred horses dedicated to the sun are known from II Kings 23:11. The proper name סוסי, Num. 13:11, and the place-name חצר סוסה, Josh. 19:5, may preserve relics of this cult. Among the Phoenicians we find a personal name עבדססם (CIS, I, 1, p. 95), which points to a divinity ססם with whom we may connect the Hebrew ססמי, I Chron. 2:40.

עדה, the wife of Lamech, has long been suspected of being a goddess in disguise, in which case there was probably a male divinity עד. Notice the proper names עדא, עדי, אלעד, אלעדא, עדיאל, עדיה, יועד, יועדה, and the place עמעד.

עדר and עור, dialectically different, occur in so many forms that we must take account of them: אביעור, *Αχιεζερ* (for איעור), אלעור, עוריה, עוריה, יועור, עור, עזור, עזרה. All these are personal names. An Aramaic king is הורדעור, if the reading is correct. In Phoenician we have עזר, אשמנעזר, בעלעזר, בעלעזר, בדעזר. In the alternate form we have the personal and place-name עדר, and the person עדריאל, with which compare the Phoenician עדרנבו. The celebrated place Ebenezer shows

itself, then, to be the 'Stone-of-Ezer,' and must have received its name from a *maḥṣebah* like the one at Bethel. The change of the name Azariah to Uzziah, which has puzzled the expositors, will now be accounted for as an endeavor to get rid of an idolatrous suggestion.

עז and עוז naturally become divine names, as we see from Azîz, noticed above. In Hebrew we have עזאל, עזאל, עזיא, עזיהו, עזיהו, עזיהו, עזיהו, עזיהו, עזיהו; in Phoenician, עזרה, עזמלך, and עזדעז; in Palmyrene, עזיה is the name of a man and also of a god.

עכבר, a totemistic personal name, is found in Phoenician as well as in Hebrew (*CIS*, I, 1, p. 272).

עליון, used as a name of God by itself and also in conjunction with אל, יהוה, and אלהים, was probably a separate divinity in the earlier time. According to Eusebius, the name was in use among the Phoenicians (*Praep. Evang.*, i, 36 from Philo of Byblos).

עם is another of the names of kinship, and is used in a large variety of combinations parallel to those in which we find other divine names: אליעם (Phoenician אלעם), ישבעם (unless *Iεσσαβααλ* represents the true reading), עמרם, עמרם, עמרם, and others. The people בני עמון possibly traced their origin to this deity.

ענה may be a reminiscence of the Babylonian Anu. We find ענה, עני, עניה, ענמלך. For בנענה we have the contracted form בענא, בענה.

ענת, a Syrian goddess, perhaps originally the female counterpart of Anu, has given her name to several places; בית ענת, ענתות, ענתות (Avaθω once for הנתן, Josh. 19:14), ענתחיה. It is also Phoenician (Cook, p. 80).

עשתרת, the chief goddess of the Canaanites (Ishtar of the Babylonians), is directly asserted to have been worshiped by the Israelites. It is remarkable, therefore, that aside from some place-names she does not appear in Old Testament proper names. This shows how thoroughly names which gave offense have been removed from our texts. Besides the place-names preserved to us there may have been others, for Ⲭ gives Αστάρωθ for עשירות in Num. 32:34; Josh. 16:5. בעשתרה (Josh. 21:27, usually supposed

to be for בית עשתרת) has a curious parallel in the Carthaginian personal name בעשתרת which we should take to be for אבעשתרת or בנועשתרת.

עַת, עַתָּא, עַתְהָ was a divinity at Palmyra (notice עבדעַתָּה, cited by Baudissin *PRE*³, II, p. 172), better known in the syncretistic form עַתְרַעַתָּא (Atargatis). In Hebrew we find עַתִּי and עַתִּיהָ.

פֶּלֶט occurs as the name of a clan, and in the place-name, בית פֶּלֶט. We find also פֶּלְטִיהוּ, פֶּלְטִיָּאל (and the abbreviated form פֶּלְטִי, vocalized in two ways), אֶלְפֶּלֶט, אֶלְפֶּלֶט, and יֶפְלֶט, perhaps for יוֹפֶלֶט.

פַּעֲוֹר is made the name of a divinity in a late document. Earlier we find בַּעַל פַּעֲוֹר and בית פַּעֲוֹר. The obscure name פַּעֲוִיר, II Sam. 23:35, may represent פַּעֲוִירָהוּ.

פֶּרֶץ is one of the clans of Judah. We find also רִמְיוֹן פֶּרֶץ, פֶּרֶץ עֶזָּה, and בַּעַל פֶּרְצִים.

פַּתַּח. The Egyptian Ptah may be concealed in the Hebrew פַּתַּחִיהָ. In Phoenician we find a man named פַּתַּחַא, and another named עַבְדַּפַּתַּח.

צֶדֶק appears as the name of a divinity in the Phoenician צֶדֶקְמִלֶּךְ and צֶדֶקְרִמָּן. It is also the name of a man (*CIS*, I, p. 200). It is found in combination in South Arabia. Hebrew forms are צֶדֶק, צֶדֶק, אֶדְנִי־צֶדֶק, מֶלְכִי־צֶדֶק, יְהוֹצֶדֶק, צֶדֶקִּיהוּ.

צֹר, צֶר, the Rock, is not uncommon as a figurative designation of God. But the widespread adoration of rocks, stones, and mountains shows that the designation was originally more than a figure of speech. In Aramaic we find בִּרְצֶר (Cook, p. 171). Compare the Hebrew forms אֶל־צֹר, צֹרִיָּאל, Αβεισσουρ (for אֶבִּיהוּא, Ex. 6:23), צֹרִיהָ (? צֹרִיהָ), צֹרִי, פֶּדֶה־צֹר, צֹרִישֵׁי, and the place-names מִצֹּר, צֶר, מִבְּצֶר, and בית צֹר. The name of the city Tyre may belong here.

צֶלֶם was an Arabian divinity, and may have given names to two localities and a man צֶלְמוֹן in our Hebrew text.

צֶפֶן is found as a place-name in בֵּל צֶפֶן outside of Palestine, and צֶפֶן was also a town of Gad, Josh. 13:27. Personal names are צֶפֶן, אֶל־צֶפֶן, אֶלְצֶפֶן, and צֶפֶנִּיהָ. In Phoenician we find עַבְדַּצֶּפֶן, בַּדְּצֶפֶן, and צֶפֶנְבַּעַל (name of a woman).

קדש appears in Ezekiel (47:19 ט, Καδμ for קדש), and also in קדמוני, קדמוני, קדמיאל. Cadmus, who brought letters into Greece, if a god or a demigod, belongs here. There is a South Arabian name אלקדש.

קוש in ברוקס, Ezra 2:53, may be the Nabataean divinity who appears in the name קסנתן (Cook, p. 233).

קין designates the first outlaw, the first of the smiths, the eponym of the Kenites, and must have been an object of worship. Place-names in Palestine are קינה and קינים, and the patriarch Kenan bears a very similar name. A South Arabian divinity קין is known, and we have קינו as Nabataean name of a woman (Cook, p. 228).

קיש, the father of Saul, may have been called for a god קיש or קוש. Compare Qaushmalaka, an Edomite name known to us from the Assyrian, with קושיהו (I Chron. 15:17; in the parallel passage, 6:29, it is קישוי). We have also a river קישון, the town קשיון, and the patronymic אלקושי. Nabataean names are קישא and קישא.

רגם, known to be a divinity, appears as the name of a man in the genealogy, I Chron. 2:47, and in the compound רגם מלך, Zech. 7:2.

רחל, the eponymous ancestress of a group of tribes, was worshiped, as appears from the sacred pillar marking her grave. We are not surprised, therefore, to find the name אחרהל.

רחם is said to be a divinity according to the Palmyrene inscriptions, and also in South Arabia (Baethgen, p. 91). It is perhaps not too bold to associate with him רחם and רחום of our text.

רכב, a clan in Judah and a man in Benjamin (II Sam. 4:2; notice Ρηχαβ, place-name for רכה I Chron. 4:12), suggests the Aramaic רכבאל, ברוכב (Cook, pp. 159, 171).

רם occurs in isolation, and also in the combinations אברים, אדניים, רמיה, מלכיים, אחורים (Αχιραμ also for חורים), אבירים, אבירים. Whether מרים and רומיה belong here is not certain. Phoenician names are רמבעל, בעלרם, and מלכרים.

רמון is the Hebrew form of Rammān, the Assyrian, Syrian, and South Arabian god of the thunder. He gives his name to two

towns and a rock in Israel, besides *Ραμμων* for ראמות, I Chron. 6:80 (65). We find also גת רמון, עין רמון, and רמון פרץ. The name Hadad-Rimmon has already been commented upon.

Ra (רע), the Egyptian sun-god, has perhaps left traces in אחירע.

רצה appears in Phoenician in the composite divine name מלקרתרצה (Cook, p. 361). Rizpah, the concubine of Saul, is an apparent derivative.

שאל, Saul, is the name of an Edomite, and of three Israelites. We have also מחושאל and מישאל; and a town conquered by Seti is given the name ביתשאל. It is a question, therefore, whether the 'Hill-of-Saul' (Gibeath Saul)¹² was named for the Israelite king or for a divinity who gave his name, not only to the place, but to the man; שאל should be the god of the underworld, Sheol.

שבע, or with the softer labial שוע, appears as a proper name (in both forms), and we find אלישבע, אלישוע, אבישוע, יהושבע, יהושבע, מלכישוע, בחשוע, בתשבע, (יושוע), יהושוע, יהושבעת, besides the place-name באר שבע. In Aramaic we have שבעלדי, contracted from שבעאלדי (CIS, II, 1, p. 119), and a god Sibi or Sibitti is known to the Babylonian epic (Jastrow, *Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens*, p. 173; KAT³, p. 413).

שדי in אל שדי is supposed by the latest pentateuchal author to be the name by which Yahweh revealed himself to the patriarchs. The word appears also in עמישדי, צורישרי, and שדיאור. These also are late, but, as we have knowledge of ancient divinities called שדים, whose name appears in עמק שדים, we suspect that the original שדי was one of these. *Μεισσαι* for מישאל in Lev. 10:4 is perhaps a further trace of this name.

שור occurs as a man's name, and also in the compounds אבישור, אחישר (Αχιηλ), and שריה.

שחר, the Dawn, would naturally be personified, and the name appears in אחישהר, Σααρηλ (for שחרים, I Chron. 8:8), and שחריה. Compare the Phoenician שחרבעל.

שי looks like a mutilated form of some longer name. It is found in אבשי, אבישי, ישי (for אישי). Once we meet Αβεισα for אבישג, also Αμεισαι for עמשג. The name חושי is probably contracted from אחושי.

¹ Notice that Saul's home is apparently the Hill-of-God of I Sam. 10:5.

שכר is at the basis of יששכר (for איששכר). We find also a man named שכר and a place שכרון.

שלח, name of a man (or tribe) in the genealogies, is also the patron of the Pool of Siloam (שלח). שלחי, a man, and שלהים, a place, may properly be mentioned here along with the Phoenician אבשלח.

שלם is a frequent element in proper names: אבישלם, אבשלם, שלמה, שלמי, שלמית, שלום, שלמון, שלמיאל (*Σαλαμην* also once for שמואל, Num. 34:20; once for שבוע, Num. 13:4), *Σελεμίας* (for שמעיה, Jer. 43 [36]:12), the city Jerusalem and the sanctuary יהודה שלום. Once we find *Σαλλειμ* for לוש, and בשלם may be בנושלם. In Phoenician we have שלם, יכנשלם, בתשלם, and בעלשלם. A divinity שלמן is attested by an inscription (Cook, p. 42), and is known also in Babylonia.

שם, one of Noah's sons, was probably a divinity. We discover the name in שמואל and שמידע; possibly also in שמי (for שמיהו), שמה, שמאבר, שמאם, and שמשרי. The name of Moses' son גרשם may belong here. On a deity with a similar name among the Assyrians see *KAT*³, pp. 483 f. Phoenician gives us שם and שמזבל.

שמר, the alleged owner of the site of Samaria, would more naturally be taken for the patron deity of the place. In this case devotion to him is indicated further by the names שמיר, שומר, שמריהו, שמרת, שמרי, and שמירמות.

שמש, the Sun, was widely worshiped throughout Asia, and must have been the tutelary deity of the hero שמשון, as well as of the localities בית שמש and עין שמש. In Ezra 4:8 we find a certain שמש, and *Θ* gives us *Αχισαμας* (for אחישמי) and *Αβεισαμας* (for אבישוע). In Phoenician we find אדנשמש and שמששלק; in Assyrian, Šamši-Adad and others.

שער, a satyr-like demon, gave his name to Mount Seir, and he and his congeners had sanctuaries in Jerusalem down to the time of the exile—במות השערים, II Kings 23:8. Whether שעיר and שערים, place-names, belong here is not certain, but שעיריה, I Chron. 8:38, seems significant.

תבור is a mountain, a fountain, and a sacred tree; therefore a divinity. The rallying-place of the warriors under Barak would naturally be a sanctuary.

חמר, name of a place and of a clan, occurs in the combination בעל חמר and in הצנן חמר. Further, the man's name איתמר may be for אביתמר or אישתמר.

תפל is the name of a place in the desert, and is also an element of the personal name אהיתפל.

הרה, the well-known household divinity (always in the plural in our texts), seems not to be used in the formation of any proper name that has come down to us.

This list contains over a hundred names; and if we add to it the animal names given by other authors, we shall have a hundred and fifty possible names of divinities. The precarious nature of the evidence for some of them is evident; yet, when all due allowance is made for this, we have a considerable number that are reasonably certain. When we consider how industriously the effort was made to keep such names out of the text, we are surprised rather that so many have come down to us. While the mere possession of the names gives us no light on the nature of Israel's polytheism, we are able, with the help of the other Semitic sources, to get a general idea of Hebrew popular religion. It is clear, for example, that the polydemonism of the desert is represented by the se'irim and shedim. The large group of animal names points to the same stage of religious thought. Sacred plants and wells, with the divinities who inhabit them, are quite analogous to what we find in other Semitic religions. Survivals have been pointed out in Syria in our own time.

The larger nature-worship, as we may call it, whose objects are sun, moon, stars, the dawn, the lightning, and the fire, is attested by our list and needs no extended comment. The Old Testament writers are aware that their people were easily drawn away to worship the Host of Heaven. They thought, indeed, that this was a yielding to foreign influences, as in part it may have been. But the tendency to revere these objects is so natural to man that we shall hardly go wrong in assuming that we have here primitive Semitic traits.

Our attention is next called to the group which we may call Syrian, in which we may without hesitation put Baal, Astarte, Gad, Meni, Anath, Rimmon, Adonis, Melek, and Naaman. Per-

haps Asher should be added to the list. Gad is the most significant, for he was not only a Syrian divinity, but the eponym of one of the tribes of Israel. All of these were, however, worshiped in Canaan before the conquest, and their survival in Israel was due to the amalgamation of Israel and the Canaanites. Edom, on the other hand, as eponym of a people allied by blood with Israel, was probably only sporadically worshiped in Canaan.

These eponyms call attention to the question of animism. Were the eponyms deified men, or were the gods adopted by the tribes as ancestors? The answer cannot be given. But of animism in the definite sense we have evidence in the worship offered at the graves of Rachel and Deborah. Absalom's pillar is interpreted in the same sense, but to follow up the evidence outside of proper names is not our present purpose. The teraphim, however, may be mentioned, as they occur in the list given above. They are usually supposed to be the ancestral images, though it is to be wished that the evidence were more definite. The personified kinsmen, however—Ab, Ah, Am, and Dod—may be plausibly interpreted as evidence of animism.

Foreign gods came in from two sides, as we might expect. Egypt contributed Amon, Osiris, Horus, Muth, and Ra. We naturally suspect Zephon also of being in this group. But, as we have evidence of a Phoenician god of this name, we cannot insist on our hypothesis. From the eastern quarter (Assyria-Babylonia) we have Adar, Bel, Dagon, Nebo, Tammuz, and El—unless the last named is a primitive Semitic divinity. Tammuz does not appear in our list of proper names, but we have Ezekiel's evidence that he was worshiped in Jerusalem at a late date. From the Moabites we get Chemosh.

After accounting in this way for a number of divinities in our list, we still have a residuum of which we know only the names. Some of them are personifications of abstract qualities, like Goodness, Help, Strength, Plenty, and Splendor. Others were strictly local deities, like Tabor. The main result of our study is to confirm the conclusion, long ago reached by critical scholars, that monotheism never was the doctrine of the mass of the Israelites until after the exile.